1: Burrows--1
116, 131, 101, 171

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"Ifalik is an atoll in the Caroline Islands at 7° 15' north latitude and 147° east longitude. It lies nearly midway between Yap, 400 miles to the west-northwest, and Truk, nearly due east. Guam, in the Marianas, administrative center for the whole Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, is about 350 miles north of Ifalik. (Fig. 1).

The ocean for 100 miles around is dotted with other atolls and reefs, making up what has sometimes been called the Woleai district, though administered as part of Yap district. Woleai, 30 miles west of Ifalik, is considered the most important atoll of the group because it has the largest lagoon and largest population. Eight of these atolls are now inhabited: Woleai, Ifalik, Faraulep, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Eaurupik, and Sorol. Olimarao was formerly inhabited, and some of the others may have been.

The people of all these islands seem to be so nearly alike in language and culture as to constitute a cultural unit which differs perceptibly, though slightly, even from Fais and Ulithi to the northwest. Differences between them and their closest neighbors are too slight to justify use of the term 'culture area' for the Woleai district. 'Sub-area' would be more precise. A hasty test of these similarities was possible during brief stops at several of the islands on the return trip from Ifalik. Dialect, clan names, and the more obvious features of material culture seemed to be the same until we came to Satawal, the easternmost island visited. Here differences began to appear. For instance, the 'tr' of Ifalik was replaced, at least in some words, by 'ch'; and several clan names were different. Sorol, westernmost of the atolls generally included in the

sub-area, was not visited. It seems safe to say that this account of the native culture of Ifalik will hold true, in a general way, for the other atolls. But the similarity does not extend to all details. Sea-burial, for example, seems to be exclusively an Ifalik custom. The people of Faraulep are said to use for food a small land-shell not eaten on Ifalik. And so on.

For all practical purposes, the main differences probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifalik was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and for a time at the close of the war, a few Americans were stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifalik material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact."

1: Burrows--160 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 171 Ifalik

"Satawal

As a sequel to the Lamotrek legend, Tom said 'Satawal all same.' In those early days, he explained, that island was uninhabited. Some of the Ifalik people who had settled on Lamotrek went on to Satawal and began the population of that atoll.

As already noted in the discussion of clans, the virtual identity in culture among the other islands named in these legends begins to diminish at Satawal. This was perceptible even in my few hours ashore there. The sound pronounced on Ifalik as a lingual trill, sometimes attacked by way of a stop like our 't', is replaced on Satawal by a sound identical, or nearly so, with our 'ch'. Thus 'Lamotrek' becomes 'Lamochek'; SauvelārIk, 'SauvelāckIk. Moreover, some of the clan names did not resemble those of Ifalik clans. The notes I took there were lost in reboarding the Navy government ship, and I cannot recall whether I asked the Satawal people about this story of first settlement. Probably not, as the difference in dialect made it more difficult to talk with them."

1: Burrows--831 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 227, 286, 171 Ifalik

"The kinds of fishing that require the largest number of men, and yield most of the large catches of fish, are done with nets. In one of the commonest and most productive methods, dip-nets are used for the final catch, but the fish are first herded together by what amounts to a movable weir. It is made of a long line of sennit rope and a number of green coconut leaves, which are split, and the halves tied along the line. Men wade out with it into shallow water, usually in the lagoon. They extend it to its full length, then sweep as large an area as it will cover by bringing the ends together. One end may be anchored, and the other brought around to meet it; but more often, within my observation, both ends were moved. The projecting coconut leaflets scare the fish, and drive them ahead of the line as it is pulled in and the circle narrowed. When the fish are enclosed in quite a small space, they are scooped up with dip-nets.

This technique, carried out on a small scale, is called sengango; on a larger scale, rop. Although it sometimes fails, it is the most reliable resource yet mentioned. When a good supply of fish is wanted for some special occasion, such as a feast on the completion of some public task, the kind of fishing tried is as often rop as any other.

Whether the word rop is a loan from English, or whether the resemblance to our 'rope' is a coincidence, I could not make out. The latter seems more likely. It is used only for the method of fishing, not for sennit rope in any other connection. This fishing technique is widespread--essentially the same as Hawaiian hukilau, for instance-- so it

is presumably ancient. A study of the distribution of the technique and the name would probably clear up this question."

2: Damm et al. --72
116, 171, 411

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The bitter struggles with Oleai and Lamutrik show that the Ifaluk natives were a war-like people. However, they did not have a large array of weapons; they used:

1. The spear (dīlēk) from 1 1/2 to 2 meters long; occasionally it was equipped with a barbed hook, and then it was called rumu dīlēk. [AN: see drawings 161-163 in source]. The natives apparently never used sharks teeth on their spears.
2. The club (liwueïjéï) was a cutting and stabbing weapon in a simple spade shape [AN: see drawings 165-168 in source] or it may be a two-sided weapon, like the ones on Truk (drawing 164). The natives knew nothing about the former customary practice of studding them with sharks teeth.
3. Knuckle-dusters (rasirás) with horn-fish stings, [AN: see drawings 170, 171 of source]. Drawing 169 shows an interesting form, where the simple knuckle-duster is combined with an aṅipuṅipū.
4. The natives learned about stone slings (gaûl) from Truk.
5. Bows (dawír) and arrows were just childrens' toys.

2: Damm et al. --217
116, 171, 191

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

The vocabulary is very like the one on Satowal.

5: Kittlitz--148
116, 131, 171

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Lamotrek

...we sighted the so-called Swedish Islands, which consist of three coral groups: Namurrek, Elato and Namolia-ur. Early the next morning several canoes came from the most eastern one, Namurrek; they were built exactly like the boats, which we had already seen.

12: Lutke--145
116, 171

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The natives of this group, both by their appearance and their character, resemble the Lukunor natives although the latter have been influenced by their frequent contacts with Guahan.

28: Spiro--141
116, 764, 171, 821

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ocean burial is not the rule in the Central Carolines. On the contrary, Ifaluk is the only culture that practices it, the others burying their dead in the ground. The natives say that there are two reasons for this practice. If the corpse is not removed from the island, a typhoon will destroy the idland. If the corpse is buried in the ground, its body fluids will mix with the soil, causing the vegetation to die. (3)"

"3. It should be noted that the fear of the presence of the dead is related to two of the people's most severe anxieties--the lack of food, and typhoons."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-